

Social Progress



Moral Basis of World Peace CHANG HSIN-HAI

The Churches and Alcohol ROLAND H. BANTON

NOVEMBER 1948

Social Progress

DIVISION OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION

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THE MORAL BASIS OF WORLD PEACE

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PEACE," Spinoza said, "is not the absence of war, but a virtue born from the strength of soul." Immanuel Kant said sometime ago, "It is a mistake to think that peace is a political problem: it is a moral problem."

If the malady is in the hearts of men, then, however perfect a plan may be, it has small chance of success if it is not preceded by a radical change in our attitude toward political and international relations.

The Western world has had many plans before. And yet wars continue to be waged at such short intervals. War, and not peace, has been the normal life of Europe. But the most impressive and striking fact is that the number of casualties during the last two wars has become so huge that it is ten times bigger than the total casualties of all the wars in the entire preceding thousand years. If all the other previous organizations have failed, what is there in our present conduct to indicate to us that our new efforts are not to suffer the same fate?

Unless international relations become the expression of moral sentiments that are sufficiently strong to mold our actions, it is inconceivable that an international or-

ganization can accomplish much.

Today we are in the habit of saying that the only obstacle to a lasting peace is Soviet conduct. I am entirely in sympathy with that view, because Soviet conduct is based upon a theory of life that is completely materialistic and has no relation to the world of the moral law. But I entirely disagree that this view of life is not an integral part of European thought. It is the logical culmination of a philosophy that has progressively gained ascendancy through the ages.

The negation of the moral order in the field of political and social behavior is complete in Communism today, and as one scholar warned us long ago: "It is impossible to remove the very notion of morality from international affairs without in the long run undermining it in private life."

Marxism and the Moral Law

In the Soviet view of life, the moral sentiment is completely absent. It is all a matter of the end justifying the means, whether it be in public or in private life. And the end is your selfish interest which you are out to satisfy through every means at your disposal. Human re-

lationship can never have stability anywhere without the cohesive force of the moral imperative. I have tried in vain to find any concept in the Marxist view of the universe that provides room even for the most elementary requirements of ethical conduct.

The Marxist considers the moral law, without which no civilization is possible, as having been invented by privileged social classes in order to enslave and dominate the masses. The only principle that he recognizes is the conflict of the classes. Is it not then futile to speak with the Marxist about harmony, about co-operation, about mutual consideration, without which the United Nations or any international organization obviously cannot succeed?

It is typical of modern thought that we consider politics as a branch of science. Now, the Marxist has developed to its logical end the conception of politics as a science. It has all become a matter of the interplay of forces, and the side with the greater force should by right triumph over the side with the lesser force.

Double Standard of Morality

It is a common observation that if a person living among a society of other people should behave in such a way that he infringes upon the integrity of another person, he is considered unethical or immoral.

But a public official or politician, acting in the same way in the interest of his country, is not only free from such censure, but is often praised for what he has done. We say he is a patriot.

Clearly then, two different standards are employed in our judgment of the same human behavior. If one is right, the other must be wrong. And yet we have actually considered both these standards to be correct. There have been thinkers who justify them even on philosophical grounds. Bluntschli said: "The moral exigencies required of political men have a course and norms different from those which religion imposes upon men." He then went on to make the distinction between private morality and public morality.

The world can become one and unified only in so far as moral values are universally accepted in all of our conduct, whether it be in our private life or in our public life, whether it be in my conduct or in your conduct.

Now the interesting question arises: What was responsible for the creation of this double standard?

Athenian Ethics and Politics

To begin with the ancient Greeks. Plato and Aristotle may have differed in the general trend of their thought, but they agreed in maintaining that while it is the function of ethics to prescribe the good life

to the individual, it is the function of politics to inquire into the nature of the community in which that good life is possible.

Man is a social and political animal. He is such an animal because, without society, he cannot achieve his fullest development as a moral being. Society then depends for what it is upon the quality of the individuals, while the quality of the individual depends upon the opportunities that society offers for his development. The two are fully integrated. They are interdependent; and among the Athenians there was no conception that the state has a personality all its own, over and above that of the individual. Ethics and politics with the ancient Athenians were two aspects of the same inquiry. There was no question of a double standard, and that was when man was inwardly at peace with himself and with society.

The State: Amoral Entity

With the end of the classical period, the identity of ethics with politics also came to an end. The state emerged as a new entity having nothing to do with any ethical consideration. It is conceived of as being a much higher and larger entity than the individual, and it obeys only its own laws.

Machiavelli (1469-1527), in *The Prince*, established a territorial state, sovereign unto itself, which was to be administered by its own

laws in conformity with expediency rather than with any of the religious concepts that had made the medieval world at once so unique and so transcendent. It had no reference to a moral order. It placed power and efficiency above all other considerations. Politics became a game in which the guiding hand was the ability to maneuver and to establish a balance of power for the furtherance of governmental action. Politics, in short, had become a science!

Is it not obvious that, once this view of international relations became securely lodged in the mind of men, we were led by the logic of events to the views of Francis Bacon, of Hobbes, of Locke, of Hegel, of Nietzsche, of Treitschke, and finally of fascism and Bolshevism? One led inevitably to the next, and so on, until conscience and the moral being of man came to be completely irrelevant to political action.

Modern Social Theory

The secularization of political and social theory is easily the most momentous of the intellectual changes that ushered in the modern world, and that means that moral and ethical considerations in political and social conduct became strangely out of place. Let me quote to you a few sentences from Professor R. H. Tawney's book, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*:

"The theological mould which shaped political theory from the

Middle Ages to the seventeenth century is broken; politics becomes a science, ultimately a group of sciences, at best one science among others. Reason takes the place of revelation, and the criterion of political institutions is expediency, not religious authority. Religion . . . dwindles into a department of life with boundaries which it is extravagant to overstep. . . .

"The essence of modern political thought is a dualism which regards the secular and the religious aspects of life, not as successive stages within a larger unity, but as parallel and independent provinces, governed by different laws, judged by different standards, and amenable to different authorities. . . .

"But the quality in modern societies which is most sharply opposed to the teaching ascribed to the Founder of the Christian Faith lies deeper than the exceptional failures and abnormal follies against which criticism is most commonly directed. It consists in the assumption . . . that the attainment of material riches is the supreme object of human endeavour and the final criterion of human success. Such a philosophy, plausible, militant, and not indisposed, when hard pressed, to silence criticism by persecution, may triumph or may decline. What is certain is that it is the negation of any system of thought or morals which can be described as Christian. Compromise is as impossible

between the Church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth, the practical religion of modern society, as it was between the church and the State idolatry of the Roman Empire."

This, then, is the extent of our modern predicament.

The Social Contract

There is not one social or political thought, from the Renaissance to this day, that takes the moral imperative as the beginning of the inquiry. The individual may still fall within the orbit of religion and ethical teaching, but society is considered as no more than an artificial growth that takes its forms according to a particular set of circumstances. It is a contrivance, a compact, arranged as a matter of convenience; out of this attitude the idea of social contract grew.

The theory of contract has essentially no moral basis, and communism is the point of culmination, the logical conclusion of a view of society in which the moral content is lacking. I insist, however, that no sound international life is possible without a moral basis. The time has come for the West to have a complete reassessment of its social and political views in the light of its moral and religious tradition. Never before has Christianity received so great a challenge, to use a familiar word of Arnold Toynbee's, nor so great an opportunity to see its wonderful ideals truly vindicated.

China's Answer

While we are in this vein of thought, may I ask, as a Chinese, if it is possible that the East has anything of value?

From the very early days when the Chou Dynasty was established (in 1122 B. C.), the emperor ruled on the basis of the theory that he had received the mandate of heaven. The ruler could be the leader of the people only by being himself an example of virtuous living. He must be surrounded by wise and virtuous administrators, as without them orderly government was impossible.

It required continually stern spiritual discipline on the part of the ruler and his chief assistants. The moment there was laxity in this discipline and they began to forsake the path of virtue, it was an indication that they had forfeited the heavenly mandate.

With this theory it is obvious that there was no room for military force as a necessary adjunct to good government. At best it became a weapon for the enforcement of punitive measures. The ruler who relied upon force to maintain his throne was a tyrant. A true prince relied only upon his inherent virtues.

The distinction between race, color, and creed is all very superficial from the Chinese point of view. The real distinction, and the only one, is whether a person has attained moral and cultural enlight-

enment or not. The only true difference is between those who accept and those who reject the moral law and choose to remain as barbarians.

Virtue in Government

For Confucius the emphasis is always on virtue and moral conduct as the key to good government and sound international relations. "Moral worth is never alone." It triumphs over all obstacles in the long run: it conquers all hearts. But: "To be moral, a man depends entirely upon himself, and not upon others. It begins with himself and not with others."

Mencius, Confucius' great disciple, said: "When men are subdued by force, it is only for a while, for their hearts are not won; only their strength gives out. When men are subdued by moral conduct, their hearts are glad within and their submission is sincere."

A Word to the U. N.

This is as yet an imperfect world, and the United Nations an imperfect organization. But a beginning has to be made somewhere in the road to moral progress, and the United Nations is that beginning. If the peoples of the world are earnest in making full use of their wisdom, their sanity, and above all their moral sense, it may not usher in the millennium, but at least it should bring us a reasonably long period of peace and security.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD CRISIS

JAMES P. WARBURG *continues his summary of our present policy and suggests a different analysis of the world problem.*

I SHOULD like to submit to you that, whatever the wrongs committed by the Soviet Union and whatever the true motivation and present purpose of Russian policy, the world crisis and the present threat to world peace are caused by four major factors, three of which have nothing whatsoever to do with the Soviet Union.

The first factor, as I see it, is that we are in a technological revolution, at least as far-reaching in its implications upon human society as the industrial revolution of the late eighteenth century. This technological revolution has shrunk a world formerly divided by oceans, mountains, and deserts into one world—one little world, in which there can be neither peace nor prosperity for any people unless there is peace and prosperity for all peoples. The technological revolution has also vastly increased the problem of feeding the world's population, because it has greatly prolonged human life, eliminated to some extent the occasional mass slaughter by pestilence, and has in general decreased the death rate far more rapidly in the world's backward areas than

higher living standards have so far reduced the birth rate. Finally, the technological revolution has made war between nations into a threat of genocide.

The second great factor is that we are living in a socioeconomic revolution, accelerated and sharpened by the destruction wrought by two great wars. The whole Eastern Hemisphere is suffering from shortages. Its machinery of production has been worn out or destroyed, its raw materials depleted, its populations exhausted, its managerial power groups dispersed or dispossessed. The middle-class structure of Europe has been undermined by a series of expropriations, by the depreciation of currencies, and by almost totally inhibited formation of new private capital. Similarly, the colonial and feudal structure of society in the world's backward areas, and especially the traditional structure of Asia, is tottering. Colonial empires are in the process of liquidation, giving rise to new problems for both the peoples emerging into freedom and the peoples whose living standards were in the past supported by colonial exploitation.

In other words, a large part of the world is in a state of fundamental and far-reaching change.

The third factor in the current crisis is that an accelerated process of elimination among the great powers has caused the world's military, political, and economic power to become concentrated in only two poles of superpower—the Soviet Union and the United States. This has destroyed the only mechanism for preserving peace that the world has ever known—the mechanism of preventing armed conflict through a precarious balance of power. In the history of the world, we have had peace only so long as an ever-shifting alignment of sovereign nation states could keep any one nation or group of nations from acquiring a preponderance of power sufficient to let it believe that it could safely resort to a trial of naked force. A balance of power is, in the long run, impossible without room for maneuver among the nation states. There can be no room for maneuver when power is polarized in only two nation states. There is then room only for an armament race between the two rival powers. This means that we have come to the end of the long period of international anarchy—that we have come to the end of that part of human history in which men could live within nations under law while nations lived among each other in a state of jungle anarchy.

These, as I see it, are the three primary causes of the present crisis in world affairs. None of them has anything whatever to do with the nature or intentions of the Soviet Union. We should be in a world-wide technological, social, and economic revolution if Marx and Lenin had never lived or written. We should be living in a state of no longer tolerable international anarchy if power had become concentrated in any two superpowers other than Russia and the United States.

I do not for one moment deny that there is a fourth and very important cause of the present world crisis. The Soviet Union has without doubt been cynically fishing in troubled waters. It has exploited the world-wide socioeconomic revolution in order to propagate the Communist ideology. It has exploited the existence of international anarchy among the sovereign nation states in order to gain every advantage for itself. The Soviet Union has obstructed the making of a just peace; the Soviet Union has pursued a ruthless course of action; the Soviet Union must not be permitted to expand its sphere of influence any farther.

The trouble is that our Government sees only the Soviet Union's contribution to the present state of world affairs. It does not see its own contribution, nor that of others. Above all, it fails to recognize that the most important causes of the

present crisis are no one's fault in particular but are to be sought in the historical developments of the time in which we live.

The consequence of this myopic vision on the part of the Government of the United States is that the Western world, under our leadership, has gone into a state of panic—that it has embarked upon a frenzied course of negative action and become so obsessed with stopping Russian expansion that it has lost sight of the basic factors that make Russian expansion possible.

By default, we have left to the Soviet Union the inestimable advantage of exploiting the existing condition of international anarchy. We, who have nothing to lose and everything to gain from strengthening the United Nations and building it into a world government, have undermined the United Nations, have lacked faith in it, have failed to infuse it with our own great strength, and have not—even at this late date—made up our minds to achieve one world as once we made up our minds to achieve one nation.

Two positive implications flow from this critical analysis of our present approach to the world crisis. Let me express them in terms of what I think should be the two broad aims of our foreign policy. As I see it, these should be:

First, to throw our moral and economic strength behind the emerging noncommunist progressive move-

ments throughout the world, respecting the native characteristics of those movements, irrespective of whether or not they conform to our prejudices and predilections.

Secondly, to throw the full weight of our military and economic resources behind a United Nations which we openly declare our intention of building into a world government.

If these were our positive aims—and, if we pursued them with intelligence and determination—a large part of our present limited and negative objective would automatically be realized. We should then have drawn to our side those existing forces which can and will, if supported, stop Communism and which can and will achieve one world. We should, in other words, achieve the stopping of Communism as a by-product of a positive policy.

I realize that these things cannot be accomplished overnight. In the meantime, there remains the immediate problem posed by the present aggressive attitude and action of the Soviet Union. How are we to deal with it, pending the development of a new and constructive policy?

First, we can declare ourselves. While it is true that we cannot overnight win to our side the progressive forces in the world nor make the United Nations into an effective world government, we can overnight make up our minds that this is

what we want to do. The mere declaration of such a change in our outlook and policy could profoundly and dramatically affect the present somber world picture. Secretary Marshall's courageous pronouncement of last June had an almost miraculous effect upon the tired, discouraged, and frightened peoples of Europe—even though they well knew that there could still be many a slip between promise and fulfillment.

Secondly, we can make hash of the Kremlin's two fondest hopes. In effect, these two hopes are one and the same—the hope that we shall fail to carry through, over the next few years, our avowed intention to help the rest of the world get back upon its feet.

Thirdly, we can stop the armament race. We can cut into the increasingly dangerous vicious circle of preparation for war in which the Soviet Union and the United States are presently engaged. We can do this only if we bring ourselves to realize that the threat to western Europe—and via western Europe to our own security—is not primarily a military threat and cannot be met by military force, that it is essentially a moral and political threat that must be met by moral and political means.

There is still time for us to realize that war is no longer an acceptable alternative to the achievement of one world by peaceful means. There is

still time for us to awaken to the fact that, if the fatal drift toward war is to be halted, we, the most powerful and least vulnerable people on this vulnerable planet, must be the ones to arrest it.

We can and must stop the armament race by insisting that our Government revise its basic analysis of the world crisis—that it develop and proclaim a new foreign policy and a corresponding domestic policy that will truly harness our great human and physical resources to the peaceable building of one world. Unless we can do this, we shall very shortly be spending something like \$20,000,000,000 a year on our military establishments. We are spending over half that amount already. On the other hand, think what it would mean if, instead of adding \$10,000,000,000 to unproductive armament, we should add half that amount to a broader and more generous recovery program, aimed at helping the progressive forces throughout the world. Think what it would mean in the way of restoring world stability if, instead of doubling our military budget, we were to double our recovery program at only half the cost to our taxpayers.

If ever there was a moment that should bring together all parties, all candidates, and all citizens in a common effort, it is this moment in our history. For at this moment we alone hold the power to turn the world from suicide toward unity and peace.

MUST THE UNITED NATIONS APPEAL FOR CHILDREN END?

Dr. Ording's resignation as Director of the United Nations Appeal for Children issued in the interview granted Dr. Paul Newton Poling that was the inspiration of this article.



American Friends Service Committee

THE suffering of children is a more important fact than the conflict of ideology, of racial hatred and clashing power politics. Some people tell you there are many other and more important troubles to be settled. There is Berlin. There is Palestine. There are Kashmire and

Korea. But the voice of the suffering children—230 million of them!—makes this problem the most urgent confronting this assembly of the United Nations.”

Dr. Aake Ording, member of the Norwegian delegation to the United Nations in 1946, until appointed Director of the United Nations Appeal for Children, by Secretary-General Trygve Lie, believed that it mattered greatly that children were lying down in the streets of the world to die.

We met the day the United Nations was assembling in the first session of the Third General Assembly in Paris. The papers were full of great matters of state with which the delegates were absorbed. I had seen no reference to the problems of suffering children. It was not the first time that leaders conferred on urgent problems and lost or crowded out the most important issues. The circumstance recalls an old account of the conference of busy men seeking answers to pressing problems. The presentation of the welfare of children was made on that crowded afternoon and regarded as an inter-

ruption in the deliberations. The disciples rebuked those who introduced the question of child welfare, but Jesus "took them up in his arms, . . . and blessed them." Dr. Ording has strong authority supporting his belief "that the suffering of children is the most urgent problem confronting the United Nations." This concern for the anguish of the innocent is shared by millions of plain people everywhere. The United Nations Appeal for Children calls the compassionate of the world to unite in a "parents' war" for orphaned and starving children everywhere. Here was an opportunity for the compassion of man to flow over all boundaries of race and creed to meet a boundless need. It carried life and hope to the dying and the promise that where mercy flourished fear and hatred must finally wither.

However, by action of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the United Nations Appeal for Children will end December 31. The attack of the world community on the enormous need of children is to be discontinued. UNAC is to go the way of UNRRA unless the people of this country make known their will to the Secretary of State and to our representatives at the United Nations. The many voluntary agencies of the United States for world relief testify to our genuine concern for the suffering. The world proportions of the present disaster require the united

efforts of all agencies and all nations to meet it.

The failure of the campaign in the United States cannot be explained by ascribing it either to our lack of concern or to our poverty. This nation secured only \$6,000,000 of a \$60,000,000 quota, while Canada, with 1/18 of our national income, raised \$10,000,000. No good purpose will be served by publicly exploring the reasons for our failure. The efficient organization of the campaign enlisting all groups and securing the co-operation of all voluntary agencies was not achieved last year. The campaign suffered also from the hurtful influence of those who are desirous of defeating any enterprise that draws its support from both sides of the iron curtain and serves need everywhere without respect to such ideological barriers. But our failure to meet the goal in serving the suffering this first year of the United Nations Appeal for Children must not be made the occasion for destroying the UNAC and abandoning this world-wide enterprise. It should not require much effort to convince the General Assembly of the United Nations that it is the will of the people of the world that this campaign be continued until the need of children is met or a more effective method of enlisting world support for the starving is devised.

The United States influenced the vote of the Economic and Social Council to discontinue the drive.

The influence of our delegation will be decisive when the question is brought before the General Assembly by Australia. The most fruitful course we can follow to secure the reinstitution of this program is to communicate our desires to the State Department.

The news report that Dr. Ording had resigned as Director of the United Nations Appeal for Children appeared inconsistent with his expressed devotion to the cause of these innocent casualties of war and peace. Dr. Ording said that "rather than betray the trust and confidence" of so many he was quitting his job now so that he would be completely free to fight the decision of the Economic and Social Council. He has resigned as director to keep the fight going and to restore the Appeal. Secretary General Lie accepted the resignation and appointed Dr. Ording as a special United Nations consultant to attend the General Assembly in Paris.

In the first year of the campaign some countries made impressive contributions to this project that captured the imagination and thrilled the hearts of the people of the world. A central idea of the United Nations Appeal for Children was to get every wage earner (perhaps as many as 500,000,000) to contribute one day's pay or the equivalent effort to meet the needs of children in war-torn lands. Even if the United States' total result of the campaign was dis-

appointing there were notable exceptions which revive the hearts of those responsible for the drive. According to Dr. Ording, wherever the goals were presented clearly the people went over the top. One reply to this appeal in the United States was a check for \$261.50 from a West Virginia schoolteacher. Accompanying the gift was a note saying, "I am sending this, one month's salary, not because I have so much (I do not), but because the children have so little."

The United Nations Appeal for Children is the strongest assurance the people of the world can offer 230 million suffering children that they shall yet have a better inheritance than war's terrible legacy of hunger, horror, and loneliness.

In the Appeal's campaign for funds Secretary Marshall wrote: "Voluntary aid supplements the general relief assistance which only governments can provide. It affords things and services including spiritual comfort needed by the weakest of the war victims, the children, their mothers, and invalid fathers. The Department of State joins with the President in urging every citizen to work for the success of American Overseas Aid—United Nations Appeal for Children." Secretary Marshall is the one to whom your desire should be made known concerning the continuation of the United Nations Appeal for Children. (See editorial.)

THE CHURCHES AND ALCOHOL

By REV. ROLAND H. BAINTON, *Ph.D.*, *Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Yale University.*

THE motion picture *Going My Way* offers a striking illustration of the difference between Catholic and Protestant clerical mores as to sex and drink. In the story a young priest by a vow of celibacy wounds a heart. An old priest has concealed in a bookcase, behind the works of General Grant, a whisky flask. A Protestant clergyman would have married the girl, but in many denominations he would never have been able to grow old in the ministry if he were caught with the flask. The Protestant clergyman is expected to be abstinent, the Catholic to be celibate. Such differences in practice make one wonder whether Protestant rigorism may not be directed to drink and Catholic rigorism to sex.

A difficulty is that the lines do not fall neatly between Protestant and Catholic on the matter of drink. The Lutheran and the Anglican churches on this point have preserved the Catholic attitude. Not even Puritanism in its formative period espoused total abstinence and prohibition. The initiative came from the Methodists and Quakers, with the churches of the Puritan tradition rallying to the support of their position.

The Jewish Attitude

The starting point must be the attitude of Judaism that was taken over by the Early Church as to the use of fermented drinks. This attitude was conditioned by the essential character of Jewish religion, which is neither ascetic nor orgiastic. Ascetic religions regard the material world as evil and seek wherever possible to avoid contact with matter. Of this attitude there is scarcely a trace in the Old Testament.

Judaism, on the other hand, is not an orgiastic nature religion, discovering particular evidence of the divine in the processes of fertilization, vegetation, and fermentation and seeking communion with God through the excitements of sex and drink. Against all such orgies the prophets of Israel were flint, even to the point of slaughtering the priests of Baal. Drunkenness in Judaism, whether connected or unconnected with religion, met with the sternest rebuke. Noah, Lot, and Nabal were subjected to reprobation for their lapses.

Judaism steers a middle ground between an ascetic religion renouncing wine as evil per se, and a

nature religion using wine to produce religious ecstasy. Drunkenness is reprovéd; moderation is commended. Total abstinence is represented only by rigoristic minorities.

Early Christianity

Christianity inherited this ethic and very largely reproduced its pattern. Jesus was no Nazarite or Rechabite like John the Baptist, for "the Son of man came eating and drinking" (Matt. 11:19). At the same time Jesus upbraided the drunken stewards (Matt. 24:49) and introduced an ethical rigorism more exacting than that of Judaism (Matt. 5:27-29). The Apostle Paul is more explicit because he was confronted with actual drunkenness within the Christian congregations at a very dangerous point, the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Here was the peril that Christianity might degenerate into an orgiastic nature cult (I Cor. 11:21). The apostle sternly rebuked inebriety. "Let us walk becomingly, as in the day; not in revelling and drunkenness" (Rom. 13:13). As a rule for conduct, Paul formulates a principle destined to play a great role in the temperance movement, the principle of consideration for the weaker brother. "Let . . . no man put a stumblingblock in his brother's way. . . . All things indeed are clean. . . . It is good not to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor to do anything whereby thy brother stumbleth" (Rom. 14:13-21).

The Catholic Ethic

The reconciliation of Christianity with the state made the new religion popular and led to accessions with unseemly haste and all too little preparation. The way was made easier by relaxing the standards. Augustine tells us that frequently, when the heathen hesitated to embrace the faith for fear of having to renounce the tippling of pagan festivals, the Church relaxed and countenanced drinking in commemoration of the martyrs. Augustine was doing his best to stamp out the practice in his diocese of northern Africa. Basil was similarly outraged by the revelry accompanying the celebration of Easter. But neither enjoined a total abstinence.

The rise of monasticism introduced no essential change. The Rule of St. Benedict did not prohibit wine, and the earlier rigor was soon so far relaxed that the Benedictines and the Chartreuses became famous for their vintages.

But to return to the earlier centuries, a new possibility was introduced when the Roman Empire gave its patronage to the Church. Christian ideals could then be embodied in secular legislation to be enforced by the state. In other words, the door was open for prohibition. No ruler attempted it in the Christian Roman Empire, nor in the West during the Middle Ages, but regulation of the sale and consumption of liquor by

rulers, whether ecclesiastical or secular, was very common.

Early Protestantism

The Protestant Reformation brought at first no great change in the picture. Martin Luther, when he abolished monasticism and inaugurated that attitude which was to make matrimony almost a prerequisite for a Protestant clergyman, did not compensate by rigorism as to drink. On the contrary, he was somewhat convivial. But Luther was no drunkard. Melanchthon testified that he was abstemious and, under the stress of work, would often fast for days. Luther had no use for drunkenness and scathingly denounced his fellow Germans and even his own prince for lapses. Luther's matured attitude is well expressed in his commentary on the miracle at Cana. Jesus turned water into wine. Let us not be scandalized, commented Luther, if someone should take a little more than was necessary for thirst and grow merry, but alas! in our day we drink until we are soused.

Not to Luther nor to Lutheranism are we to look for the origin of the modern Protestant campaigns against all drink. Nor is the source to be found in the Anglican Church.

Another type of Protestantism arose, in the sixteenth century, which insisted that the Church should be a city of the saints no matter how small, and should exclude the unworthy from her membership.

The code of conduct demanded of the saints was exacting. This has been the pattern of English and American sectarianism. Its prototype in the Germany of the Reformation was Anabaptism. One of the marks of the true Christian is sobriety.

But the Anabaptists were not without their influence. Their memory afforded an impetus to German Pietism, which in turn affected English sectarianism of the seventeenth century among the Quakers. In view of such connections we need feel no surprise to discover the Methodists and the Quakers as the pioneers in the modern temperance crusade.

They were to enlist the support of the churches of Calvinist derivation, and Calvinism itself owes much to its competition with Anabaptism. In order to meet the Anabaptist criticism Calvin adopted a strict discipline. His whole demeanor was more austere than that of the convivial Luther. To be sure, Calvin was no teetotaler. He allowed wine in moderation and did not decline the present of a cask from the town council. At the same time he revived and went beyond the sumptuary legislation of the late Middle Ages. Calvinism contributed to the ultimate temperance campaign a deep moral earnestness, and a readiness, not characteristic of Anabaptism, to make use of the state to institute and enforce a code of conduct.

New England Puritanism exhibits
(Continued on page 18)

An Appeal

"IF RICHES INCREASE—"

THANKSGIVING will be celebrated this year by many anxious people. Thoughtful Americans, citizens of the richest nation of all time, where 6 per cent of the world's population holds nearly 60 per cent of the world's wealth, are concerned lest an economic collapse, or an atomic war, bring swift disaster upon them. It is sobering to consider that the ruin which is now Europe was so recently earth's richest and fairest land. It is wise to believe that the accumulated treasure of many nations and many generations which we of America enjoy is equally fragile. Our hold on it is so precarious that in a few days of atomic warfare it would be but dust and rubble. Our people would be reduced to back-breaking toil for existence; our children orphaned and families scattered. The best authorities assure us such a disaster is quite possible.

While the threat of such boundless evil disturbs us, millions are now living in the midst of such desolation. They too are anxious—for bread. And not for bread only but for hope. Bread will bring the hungry hope also if it comes from a rich nation—a nation rich enough toward God to pledge its immense endowments to restore the people of the earth. But it is as hard for a rich nation as for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. Wealth becomes a possession to be defended from the envy of needy nations and people, instead of gifts to be employed for God in the service of men. The thanksgiving of the rich easily slips into the sin of the Pharisee whose gratitude was that he was not as other men. Praise that treats riches as the reward of merit, or the evidence of God's favoritism, is an offense to God. True thanksgiving is not a celebration that ends in indulgence but the service of the needy which issues in the praise of God by all men, now rich toward God. The proper employment of wealth is in ministering to the welfare of the neediest man. There is only disaster for us all if we try to hold the wealth of which we are stewards from the suffering world for which it is intended.

Our riches have increased. Let us thank God that so many Americans have set their hearts to serve humanity therewith. For the sake of the suffering and in the name of the God of peace, let us pray that the will of God may be done in us and through us with all that He has given us.

to Faith

Honorable George C. Marshall
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

October 11, 1948

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I earnestly hope the action of the Economic and Social Council in ending on December 31 the United Nations Appeal for Children will be reversed by action of the present session of the General Assembly in Paris. The discontinuance of this United Nations Appeal will weaken the faint hope that still remains to these children of misfortune. It will cast doubt on the ability of the United Nations to move together in any truly important matter—for if we cannot unite in feeding these hungry children, then on what can we agree? To care for suffering children and give the plain people of all nations some hope of one world, let us by all means re-establish the Appeal and continue it until the suffering of children has been met in a restored world.

The United States campaign in the Appeal fell far short of its goal. But our failure in one campaign cannot justify our surrender in this war against the appalling need of children. We did succeed, even in the midst of failure, in setting up the essential organizational work, the making of important plans, and the gathering of experience. The need of suffering children has been laid on the heart of America and the hope of this innocent, suffering generation raised by the knowledge that we with all the people of the world were united to fight now in their behalf.

I am encouraged by your statements to believe that this grievous burden of the children of the world is shared by you. I entreat your full support and that of our Department of State together with the decisive influence of our United States delegation to the United Nations for the reinstatement of the United Nations Appeal for Children. Our support for the Appeal reversing the position taken by our representatives in the vote which ended the enterprise as of December 31 will assure its success and will receive the praise of those the world around who pray for bread as well as the many millions who desire to unite in this means to serve them.

Faithfully yours,
Paul Newton Poling,

Secretary, Division of Social Education and Action

The Churches and Alcohol

(Continued from page 15)

no marked change. A housewarming had reference to the use of ardent spirits. Even the ordinations of ministers were often unseemly occasions. Ministers such as the Mathers inveighed against drunkenness. Colonial assemblies regulated the hours of taverns, the quality of beer, and the sale to domestics and the Indians, among whom rum wrought havoc. Despite all regulation, excessive drinking continued even among churchmen in New England until the reform movement of the early nineteenth century.

The Temperance Crusade

The initiative in the temperance crusade came from the Methodists and the Quakers, with the Calvinist churches swinging into line later. The evil of drink had grown worse in the eighteenth century because of the displacement of fermented by distilled liquors. A report to His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in 1735-1736 lamented the surprising increase of gin-drinking in London in which whole families were involved, parents, children, and servants. In the campaign for correction, the alliance of religion with medicine is noteworthy.

If the program of the reformers became ever more drastic, the reason lay not in any ascetic presupposition but in the lessons of experience. First

came total abstinence from hard liquors, coupled with moderation as to the soft. But when it was found that drunkards on the way to reform could lapse as readily on soft as on hard, the ban was placed on both, and those who might be able to drink in moderation were urged to refrain entirely out of consideration for the weaker brother. The same moral was deduced from the failure of the Duke of Wellington's attempt to oust hard liquor in Britain through the encouragement of beer. The failures of regulation likewise drove the temperance movement to the advocacy of prohibition.

In England the Methodists took the lead. John Wesley, who so well knew the debauchery of the English countryside, lashed out against the sellers of spiritous liquors as poisoners of the people. The Rules of the Society Called Methodists, in 1743, required members "to avoid buying or selling spiritous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity."

In the United States the Quakers were notable exponents of reform. The reputed father of the movement in this country was the Philadelphia doctor, Benjamin Rush. Another notable Quaker pioneer was Neal Dow, one of the fathers of American prohibition. He was a citizen of Maine. He first enunciated the principle of prohibition in 1839. He lived to see it embodied in the law of his state in 1851.

Among the churches of the Calvinist tradition that rallied to the support of the Methodists and the Friends come first the Congregationalists, who were the leaders of the movement in New England from 1810 until the formation of the Temperance Society in 1826.

With regard to other churches of the Calvinist tradition we may note that the Presbyterians in 1827-1830 took a stand for total abstinence, and in 1854 endorsed prohibition.

The churches with the more inclusive membership, the Catholic, Lutheran, and Episcopalian, have been less disposed to general requirements binding upon all members, although of course perfectly ready to bless total abstinence movements within their folds. The approval given by Pope Leo XIII to the Catholic abstinent was similar to a papal sanction of a vow of celibacy or poverty, commendable in those who take it, but not required of all.

The Lutherans have generally confined themselves to the advocacy of temperance, although various synods have taken strong stands against the liquor traffic.

The Episcopalian Church has had a Temperance Society in which moderates and total abstainers alike participated. Episcopalians accepted prohibition because it was the law of the land, but the majority of the clergy desired modification or repeal of the Volstead Act.

Prohibition is gone, but the prob-

lem of inebriety confronts us still in no less acute form. The attitudes of the churches throughout the centuries provide us with no absolute rule. The only fixed principles are self-control and consideration for the weak. A very good case can be made for a more rigoristic attitude in modern than in ancient times because mechanization has increased both the evil and the danger. Earlier generations ran less risk through moderate indulgence than do we.

The Bible and the teaching of the Church, then, afford us no absolute rules, only certain guiding principles.* The various Christian branches have not been and are not now of one mind as to their application. Some counsel moderation, while a large number of Protestants in the United States have come to feel that Christian principles are best exemplified through total abstinence.

Mr. Bainton while retracting nothing in this article desires to guard against the misunderstanding that it has already occasioned that he is equally critical of the current Catholic attitude to sex and the Protestant toward drink. Actually he disapproves of the requirement of celibacy for the clergy and of clerical imbibing. He is a total abstainer and would recommend total abstinence, not on the grounds of Biblical legalism nor Christian tradition, but on the basis of a fresh application of Christian principles to modern conditions.

R FOR NATIONAL HEALTH

By CHANNING FROTHINGHAM, M.D., Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Committee for the Nation's Health, Inc., and Frederick E. Robin, Executive Secretary of the Committee.

AS OLD and universal as sickness is man's fight to win medical relief. In recent years, thanks to medical research, near miracles have been wrought in the battle against disease.

But while ground has been gained in the medical laboratory, corresponding advances have not been scored in our workaday world. All too frequently an economic barrier stands between the patient and modern medicine. Fearful of the costs of treatment and unwilling to accept charity medicine, many of our people stint themselves on medical care. In a very real sense, full measure of an advancing medical knowledge is not being realized chiefly because sufficient attention has not been paid to winning the battle of dispensing medical cares. Each passing month produces its fresh toll of casualties. Each year an estimated 325,000 Americans die needlessly. They are victims of our failure to develop a democratic system to bring adequate medical care to all, regardless of race, color, or creed.

If, for example, Uncle Sam, prompted by this knowledge, were to ask his doctor for a systematic

national checkup, what would his health chart show?

A thorough examination would reveal a number of disturbing symptoms. Here, frankly, are the truths about our national health—not "shocking" exaggerations, but blunt facts to dispel any smug complacency:

One mother out of every two that dies in childbirth dies needlessly. Her life could be saved if known measures were fully applied. One third of the infant deaths could similarly be prevented.

In any twenty-four-hour period, illness or other disability incapacitates 7,000,000 people.

Chronic disease or physical impairment blights 23,000,000 lives annually.

Four million Americans were rejected for military service because of physical disability.

These figures have seldom blazoned into headlines. Nevertheless, such ominous portents and others concerning the critical shortage of doctors, nurses, and hospitals throughout our country are worrying the nation's foremost experts on health and medical economics. They

know that a serious health crisis confronts the country. Unless checked it will sap our greatest asset—healthy people. Repeat the word “people” to yourself, lest statistics become mere numbers obscuring human suffering and crippled lives.

Suppose we consider you as an average American. What are your chances for health this coming year? Experience shows that you have one out of three chances of being sick once, one out of seven of being sick twice, and one out of twenty of being sick three times.

Now what about your chances for recovery? That depends a good deal on the medical care available to you. And at this point the record makes it compellingly clear that many can never afford necessary care. They just do not have an equal chance for health.

Possibly you fall into one or more of these broad categories that claim so many millions. Do you live in a rural area—perhaps in the South?

If you do, the prevailing regional shortage of adequate medical personnel and facilities may handicap your chances of recovery considerably. The death rate among women at childbirth, for example, is three times as high in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina as it is in Connecticut, Minnesota, or Rhode Island.

Infant mortality rates tell the same story. In the four worst states, 50 to 100 infants died in their first

year as compared with 28 to 30 babies per 1,000 live births in our nation's four best states.

Or perhaps your family is among the great majority of those whose income has been strained severely by the rising cost of living?

Back in 1939, the American Medical Association estimated that families with incomes below \$3,000 could not meet the costs of serious illness without help. Today's increased cost of living means that four out of five families need financial aid to meet sickness costs. An abundant amount of evidence clearly reveals that the all-important medical care which sustains good health is largely dependent on income. When family funds are too thinly spread to cover necessary checkups and treatment, health declines.

And what of America's 13 million Negroes? The toll exacted by race discrimination, lack of economic resources, and inadequate medical facilities is staggering.

The Negro mortality rate is 60 per cent higher than for whites.

Two Negro mothers die in pregnancy and childbirth for every white mother who dies. Two Negro babies die for every white baby who dies.

Three Negroes die of tuberculosis for each white person who dies of tuberculosis.

Aware that these figures all reflect the seriousness of our plight, the President last winter requested Federal Security Administrator Oscar

Ewing to map national health goals and then to draft a ten-year national program. On the sound theory that health is everybody's business, Ewing asked our leading medical and citizen organizations to help diagnose our needs and prescribe a remedy. More than 800 representatives of these public-spirited groups met this spring in Washington at the National Health Assembly. They came from the American Medical Association and allied professions, and from co-operative, rural, veteran, church, women's, welfare, and professional organizations.

They conducted a searching inquiry into every phase of health. Fourteen specialized panels met morning and afternoon, sometimes even far into the night. The delegates did more than sit passively while papers were read to them. Impressed by the urgent sense that the health and welfare of our people might be vitally affected by their conclusions, they tackled in earnest such controversial subjects as "charity medicine" versus national health insurance; discrimination against Negroes in county medical societies and hospitals; what hope for improving rural medical facilities; the role of the Government and private agencies in health. Veteran news reporters, accustomed to the stolid routines of most national meetings, were amazed at the spirited discussions.

Out of the free exchange of ideas

at these meetings, experts and interested laymen finally compounded the ingredients for a prescription that may well mean a sounder, healthier America.

The first two provisions are indeed significant:

"Adequate medical service . . . should be available to all without regard to race, color, creed, residence, or economic status.

"The principle of contributory health insurance should be the basic method of financing medical care for the large majority of the American people in order to remove the burden of unpredictable sickness costs, and avoid the indignities of a 'means test.' "

When taken with these succeeding recommendations, they constitute a Magna Charta of health:

1. Voluntary health insurance programs must be encouraged, particularly in rural areas.

2. Medical and popular groups should work together to repeal restrictive state legislation against voluntary plans, originally passed at the mistaken insistence of state medical societies.

3. Medical care services should be co-ordinated and co-operation promoted between doctors and laymen concerning professional standards and administrative procedures.

4. Tax funds should be used wherever necessary to supplement health insurance in bringing

medical assistance to everyone.

"That such agreement could take place," the Chicago *Sun and Times* noted editorially, "is an event of first importance."

No realistic appraisal, however, of the National Health Assembly gains should minimize the cleavage over the basic question, "How are we to pay for adequate medical care for all?"

Said the delegates of a score of leading citizen organizations: Let us defray the expenses of medical care through the safe and sane American principle of national health insurance. Just as we protect ourselves against the economic disabilities of old age and unemployment, let us do the same against ill-health. Let us encourage voluntary plans, but at the same time realize that health is a national problem and therefore requires nothing less than a national solution.

The medical profession itself is of divided opinion. The Physicians Forum and the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, both numbering among their members some of the country's foremost specialists, wholeheartedly support national health insurance. The American Medical Association, on the other hand, agrees on the need for immediate action, but is apprehensive lest any Federal or local program, however cautious, might lead to

state interference with medical practice.

The debate has, on the whole, had a beneficial effect on all remedial proposals. It has subjected them to three crucial tests: (1) Is the proposed plan practicable in view of our present medical needs and facilities? (2) Does it safeguard freedom of choice for both patient and physician? (3) Does it preserve and encourage the best traditions of American medicine?

As the smoke of the four-day debate over these questions cleared, Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing and his experts began their long job of sifting recommendations and developing a constructive solution to meet America's health needs. The completed document, 186 pages long and crammed with statistics, is called *The Nation's Health—A Ten-Year Program*. It details chapter by chapter our health needs on the farms, in the cities, among minority groups. Our present medical resources and capabilities are weighed against national need. This report, just recently released by the President, should attain the same stature in the health field as has the report of the Committee on Civil Rights in its field.

In the December issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, Dr. Frothingham and Mr. Robin will continue their discussion of the nation's health.

Christian Action

CITIZENSHIP

CITIZENSHIP IDEAS FOR S.E.A. COMMITTEES

Most of us in the United States are citizens and as such have opportunities and privileges that are unique in today's world.

It is therefore with considerable pause that we read our Moderator's letter written for *Monday Morning* while he was in Scotland on his way to the meeting of the World Council of Churches. He told us plainly that the general belief of those abroad whom he is meeting is that the United States was purposely creating another war and he is being asked why. Dr. Baird very pointedly ends his letter with the directive that the Christians of the United States are the people who will determine whether or not we have this war.

It is appalling that so few people in the United States exercise their right to vote. A survey in one of our large city churches where the members had been protesting to City Hall against gambling revealed that less than half the membership of that church were registered voters and that only about one fourth actually voted in city elections, whereas the head of the gambling ring had all his men at work on election day and their friends all turned out to vote. Government officials are very susceptible to the ideas of those who help get them in office. It is at this point that too often Christians miss their opportunity to help place in office only those persons who are motivated by Christian ideals.

In these critical days when the whole world is dependent upon decisions of the United States Government every citizen should, and every Christian can, do no less

than use all opportunities to build peace. The greatest enemies of our times are those who say, "I can't be bothered," or, "It's too complex for me."

In the light of this situation today, S.E.A. committees have a special responsibility to help church members to understand the techniques of citizenship. That is just as important as knowing how the Westminster Fellowship or the Women's Association should be set up. We therefore suggest:

A Conference on Christian Citizenship

Try to make this a community-wide affair. If you already have a leadership training school annually in your community, this can be an additional class in it. The course might be built as follows:

1st session: Why is active citizenship a special responsibility of Christians?

2d session: Party organization and the local community.

3d session: Suffrage, registration, and elections.

4th session: Our Government and how it works—state and local.

5th session: Our Government and how it works—national.

6th session: What are effective techniques for Christian action as citizens? To conduct such a conference, the teacher should write to the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for a Teaching Kit. (It is not available at the Book Stores.) The cost of this Kit is \$1.00. The Kit contains two textbooks for the teacher and a teaching outline along with copies of the pamphlets to be used by the class. In addition, for each member of the class order the following:

Primer on Political Action, Woman's

Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, 420 Plum Street, Cincinnati 2, Ohio. 15 cents.

Is Politics Your Job? League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. 10 cents.

If you conduct such a conference, the Division of Social Education and Action will be able to give a certain amount of help through correspondence and, in as far as time and travel schedules permit, possibly a staff member can come to your community for one of the sessions. If we can assist you in the preparation of your plans, write us.

VISIT YOUR NEWSPAPER EDITOR

Does your newspaper carry regular accounts of how your Congressmen and Senators vote in Washington, the speeches they make in Congress, and their work in committees? A visit by a group from your church to the editor could result in a regular box appearing weekly on the front page giving this information. If your editor lacks interest, follow your visit with a letter and get other churches in your community to visit and write him also.

While you are visiting your editor, if your paper has been given to scare headlines or headlines prejudicial against Russia, talk this over with your editor who writes the headlines. Prejudicial newspaper headlines in this country have been the subject of many hours of discussion at the United Nations. Moreover, they are too often copied and distributed in other countries by those who are attempting to create the idea that we are trying to bring about a war. Your newspaper editor wants to write the kind of headlines his readers want.

KNOX COUNTY, TENNESSEE, ON THE ALERT

The Division was glad to receive a copy of a pamphlet, *The Citizen's Business*, pub-

lished by the League of Women Voters of Knox County, Tennessee, selling for 25 cents. The president of the League is also S.E.A. secretary for her presbyterial, and has participated in the S.E.A. training classes both at Wooster and Hanover. The table of contents gives the answer to the title. We pass it on in case other communities are looking for ideas: "Map of Tennessee Showing 95 Counties," "Early History of Knox County Government," "Map of Knox County," "General Facts About Knox County," "Diagram of Organization of Knox County Government," "How Knox County Is Organized," "County-City Relationship," "How Knox County Government Provides for Protection and Justice," "How Knox County Government Provides for Welfare and Health," "How Knox County Government Provides for Education," "How Knox County Government Provides for the Farming Population," "How Knox County Government Provides for Library Service," "How Knox County Government Provides for Public Works," "How Knox County Government Provides for Elections," "Diagram Showing Intake and Outgo of Funds," "How Knox County Government Pays for Cost of Services," "Representation from Knox County," "Map of Congressional District 2," "Map of Senatorial District 2," "Map of Senatorial Districts 5 and 6," "Map Showing Floterial Representative District 8," "Map Showing New Civil Districts of Knox County," "Improvements in Knox County Government," "Index."

INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION

A recent issue of *Newsweek* reported that an industrial index covering 11,000 industrial plants has been completed by the Munitions Board, and their potential war output has been allocated to the various war services. The Munitions Board and the National Security Resources Board eventually expect to have 30,000 plants so indexed.

Readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS will recall that industrial mobilization is one of the steps outlined in the report of the President's Commission on National Security.

This means that several of the steps outlined in that report are now partially completed.

—*Fern M. Colborn.*

WORLD ORDER

WILL YOUR CHURCH SPONSOR A DISPLACED PERSON?

To arrange for the admission of a Displaced Person, acceptable assurance must be given to the Federal Commission (a) that employment without displacing an American worker is available, (b) that safe and sanitary housing is available without displacing another person, (c) that transportation from the port of debarkation to the place of employment will be provided, and (d) that the immigrant will not become a charge on public funds. When such assurance has been accepted by the Commission, it will inform its representatives in Germany, who may then recommend an applicant for the job to the Consul for the issuance of a visa.

Church World Service, Inc., will be one of the agencies recognized by the Commission as competent to give assurances that will be acceptable.

Before giving such assurance, Church World Service, Inc., itself must have the promise of a responsible body, either a church or a community welfare agency, undertaking to comply with the four provisions listed in the preceding paragraph. This shows that the coming of Displaced Persons to the United States will depend upon what local communities and churches will do. Church World Service, Inc., through its staff in Europe, will aid in selecting the person to be nominated to fill the offered job, will arrange for the reception upon arrival of the immigrants whom it has recommended, will assist in making provision for transportation to the place of employment, and alert the local sponsoring body to welcome the newcomers.

For blank forms for use in giving the required assurances and other information write Committee for Displaced Persons, Church World Service, Inc., 214 East 21st Street, New York 10, New York.

ALCOHOL EDUCATION

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. was represented at the Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies by five ministers: Rev. C. Sumpter Logan, of the Presbyterian Church of Lawrenceville, Illinois; Rev. Alan J. Perrine, of the Mount Hor Presbyterian Church, Rochester, New York; Rev. Lawrence E. Schwarz, of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, Topeka, Kansas, Chairman of the Social Education and Action Committee of the Synod of Kansas; Rev. H. Lon Yager, of Hartford, Connecticut; and Rev. Clifford Earle, of Philadelphia, Associate Secretary of the Division of Social Education and Action. Dr. Earl Zeigler, of the Board of Christian

Education, was one of the thirty or more visiting lecturers.

The Summer School is part of the Yale Plan on Alcoholism. Other sections of the Plan are the clinic for alcoholics, the division of special research, the division of publications, and the Yale-sponsored committees on alcohol education. In all of these areas the Yale Plan is pioneering in studying the problem of alcoholism and in providing help for the victims of alcohol. The director of the project is Dr. E. M. Jellinek, of Yale's Laboratory of Applied Physiology.

Alcoholic addiction is the most prominent and troublesome aspect of the total

alcohol problem in America. It is a major source of tragedy and woe. It ranks high in the list of public-health problems.

The incidence of this disorder has reached astounding proportions. Reliable surveys indicate that 64,000,000 people in the United States are users of alcoholic beverages—some occasionally, some regularly but moderately, some excessively. This figure represents 60 per cent of all adults over 15 years of age.

Yale authorities estimate that there are in America now 4,000,000 persons who are addicted to the use of alcohol as a beverage. Some of these are excessive drinkers who are apparently in the first stages of addiction. Some are in the middle and advanced stages of alcoholic addiction and are a serious problem to themselves and to their families.

It is evident that about 6 per cent of all alcohol users have become addicts. This does not mean that six out of every 100 users of alcohol become problem drinkers. The incidence is really much higher than 6 per cent, since it takes from six to ten years to produce an alcoholic. The present number of addicts should be related to the number of drinkers in this country seven or eight years ago, and the number has been increasing every year. The true correlation between the number of alcoholic addicts and the number of users of alcohol will not really be known until the latter figure remains rather constant for several years. The ratio may prove to be as high as 8 or 10 per cent—in line with Dr. Charles Mayo's estimate many years ago.

It is estimated that one in every six or seven persons in this country is directly affected by alcoholic addiction—either in himself or in someone close to him. Every alcoholic's condition is a matter of deep personal concern to himself, his wife, his children, his employer, his parents, his near friends. Since each alcoholic affects at least five or six other persons, some 20,000,000 or 25,000,000 persons in America bear the brunt of the problem.

Unarrested alcoholic addiction brings its victim to certain and total devastation. His drinking gets out of control. He has no ability to keep from alcohol or to keep alcohol out of his life. His addiction is psychological, to be sure, but it renders him powerless to manage his problem. His behavior is affected. He conducts himself, on occasions, in ways that are unbecoming to a civilized human being. He does things to himself and others that make him ashamed. His health is affected. A large proportion of alcohol addicts acquire physical complications that result in hospitalization. His employment is affected. He cannot hold a job, finally, and unless he has friends or resources to take care of him, he becomes a human derelict.

There is a moral aspect to the alcoholic's problem, but it occurs before real addiction has set in. The addict himself, once he has got that way, requires treatment, not as one whose drinking is a sin, but as one whose drinking is a sickness. He needs understanding and guidance, instead of abuse and correction.

He can be helped. Alcoholics Anonymous, more than anything else today, has shown us the kind of help the alcohol addict needs. More than 60,000 persons in this country are living witnesses of the effectiveness of the A.A. method.

The Presbyterian Church is concerned with the alcohol problem in all its aspects. It is seeking to help the victims, first of all. That is where the problem has reached emergency proportions. It seeks also to provide wise guidance for young people so that they make personal decisions with regard to the use of alcohol that are consonant with Christian ideals. And it endeavors to surround the liquor industry with legal controls and restrictions that will result in less drinking and less damage.

Two great goals are emphasized—voluntary total abstinence and the ultimate elimination of the liquor traffic.

—Clifford Earle.

Sanctuary

First Things First

Invocation:

Leaving the things that are too high for us, in quietness and in confidence may we find our strength in Thee. Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, unto us who know that we are weak, and who trust in thee because we know that thou art strong, the gladsome help of thy loving-kindness, both here in time and hereafter in eternity.

Hymn:

"Jesus, stand among us In Thy risen power;
Let this time of worship Be a hallowed hour.

"Breathe the Holy Spirit Into every heart;
Bid the fears and sorrows From each soul depart.

"Thus with quickened footsteps We pursue our way,
Watching for the dawning Of eternal day."

Prayer:

O Thou who hast revealed unto us the secret of all true blessedness, bestow upon us, we entreat thee, the spirit that attains the same.

Grant unto us to be poor in spirit; so to sit loosely to our earthly possessions that, should we be stripped of them, we may be ready to say, the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord. And forbid that we, in the hardness of our material lot, should envy those who live softly, for thou hast said, What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and forfeit his own soul?

Grant unto us the blessedness of them that mourn; may we sincerely and from our hearts lament the readiness with which we lapse from vows of amendment, and make us feel that the pains, sorrows, and disorders of the world about us are griefs and burdens of our own kith and kin, the one family of the one Father of us all.

Grant meekness unto us, O Lord, that we may grow in gentleness, courtesy, and forbearance when thwarted by others, and in a happy carelessness when overlooked or slighted by the proud.

Grant unto us to hunger and thirst after righteousness, with such a passion as a starving man feels hunger or as a traveler lost in the desert is athirst.

Grant unto us the spirit of mercy, that we may spare those, who, having put themselves wrong with us, are now within our power and may be wounded or struck down by us, and that we may be pitiful to all in trouble or pain.

Grant unto us purity of heart, and so fill our breast with the love of innocent and simple joys that all vicious and unclean usurpers of our souls may be expelled from our affections.

Grant unto us to love peace and make it our aim to show abroad the spirit of conciliation and to toil for it among men; and to bear whatever persecution be our portion, as those who are partakers of the reproach of Christ. And this we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Meditation—The Word of Our Lord:

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the great and FIRST commandment. And a second like unto it is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."—*Matt. 22: 37-39.*

"But seek ye FIRST his kingdom, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."—*Matt. 6: 33.*

"Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse FIRST the inside of the cup and of the platter, that the outside thereof may become clean."—*Matt. 23: 26.*

"Thou hypocrite, cast out FIRST the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."—*Matt. 7: 5.*

"If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, FIRST be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."—*Matt. 5: 23, 24.*

The one word of our Lord is "first." It is a great gain for the Christian to know the priorities and urgencies, according to the mind of Christ.

The secret of a rich and full life is to bring some proportion and order into the very multiplicity of competing aims and desires.

The Saviour spoke the words which forever show us what is first and fundamental in his Kingdom.

To love the Lord our God, because he first loved us, this is the first commandment. To seek first his Kingdom and his righteousness, before all our seeking of the things of which our Father knows we have need.

To cleanse the inside of life, first, as we proceed to clean up the outside.

To attend, first, to the "log" in our own eye, ere we proceed to pick the "splinters" out of our brother's eye.

In the presence of God and at his altar, first, to set right grievances with others and so become centers of reconciliation in the Spirit of Christ.

Hymn:

"He Who Would Valiant Be."

Benediction.

—Howard Moody Morgan, minister, Tabernacle Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

About Books

Civilization on Trial, by Arnold J. Toynbee. Oxford University Press. \$3.50.

Dr. Toynbee is currently the most widely read of historians. He follows in the train of Gibbon, H. G. Wells, and Charles, Mary, and Miriam Beard. It is safe to say that he is not so widely read as were these predecessors, but for erudition, top-flight scholarship, and sureness of touch in his over-all coverage of history, he stands second to none.

Civilization on Trial is a collection of essays which might be described, in part, as a series of footnotes to his *Study of History*, bringing into focus the forces that can break or make our present civilization. His canvas is large, and he uses both coarse and extremely fine brushes to present his picture. His thesis, in the main, is that our civilization is endangered by two mighty irreconcilable forces, Russian Communism and American capitalism. The Russians fear our bomb and we fear their propaganda, which seems to us to be an oversimplification of the situation. Neither Communism nor capitalism, in their extreme, raw form, is desirable. "Salvation perhaps lies, as so often, in finding a middle way. In politics, this golden mean would be something that was neither the unrestricted sovereignty of parochial states nor the unrelieved despotism of a centralized world government; in economics it would be something that was neither unrestricted private enterprise nor unmitigated socialism."

Dr. Toynbee holds that if we are to understand history and our own destiny, we must "relegate economic and political history to a subordinate place and give religious history the primacy." We can hear the voices of Gibbon, Tawney, and

Beard rise in protest. Toynbee gives history a "religious interpretation" as Gibbon gave a political interpretation and Tawney and the Beards gave it an economic interpretation. It seems to this reviewer that "the golden mean" might be used in this respect, for politics, economics, and religion, as well as climate, culture, and geographical position all have their influence in shaping the history of a people.

Toynbee does not clearly define what he means by "civilization," nor does he define "the Church," but his "civilization" bears a striking resemblance to the British Labor Party's socialist blueprint, and his "Church" reflects an image very much like the Church of England. In politics and religion, these two hardly complement each other, and it is quite possible for one to be a Christian and not be a part of either.

Even so, Toynbee states the case for a Christian civilization exceedingly well, and with a balance and perspective lacking in both Wells and the Beards. In general his hopes reflect the hopes and prayers and efforts of all serious Christians. *Civilization on Trial* is an important book—possibly more important in its relevance to our time than the work of any other living writer.

—John R. Williams.

A Greater Generation, by Ernest M. Ligon. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

Dr. Ligon believes that if all the principles now known to science were used, a far greater generation could be developed in terms of ability to think, emotional stability, social skills, strength of character, and spiritual depth. This book reports the progress of the Union College Character Research Project—a study in character education.

Dr. Ligon believes that methods are now available for making it possible to bring up a greater generation of men of good will with strong character sufficient for the task of world leadership so needed today to save our civilization from the destruction toward which it seems so obviously headed. He believes that the application of the scientific method and the concepts of the Christian religion will produce this "greater generation."

The author summons the churches to take more seriously their job in the field of character education. "Unless we can do an enormously better job of character education than we are doing, the outlook for mankind is very dark." He pleads for the kind of education that will bring about actual changes in behavior. The place of the home in this program is emphasized. "Many parents still suffer from the delusion that they can delegate the character education of their children to such institutions as the school and the Sunday school. . . . Not infrequently the Church has encouraged them in this belief." "Without parent co-operation, the best efforts of the best church school teacher will have been canceled out before Sunday dinner is over."

Dr. Ligon believes that character education must find its central dynamic in religion. "If the Church fails in the discharge of its character education responsibilities, it and it alone must be called to account if our present civilization is destroyed for lack of leaders trained in and motivated by the Christian philosophy of life."

While everyone will not accept everything that Dr. Ligon and his associates believe, it is encouraging to find at least one group taking Christian education seriously.

—Gordon W. Mattice.

The Protestant Era, by Paul Tillich. The University of Chicago Press. \$4.00.

The title, *The Protestant Era*, is applied generally to a collection of eighteen essays written over a period of more than twenty years, beginning with the early twenties.

The wide variety of subjects prevents extensive treatment of the whole book. However, certain basic emphases obtain throughout. The first is that Protestantism is essentially the historical embodiment of a universally significant principle. Tillich calls it "the divine and human protest against any absolute claim for a relative reality." It is the attitude of protest against form. "The Protestant principle is the judge of every religious and cultural reality, including the religion and culture which calls itself 'Protestant.' It is an eternal and permanent criterion of everything temporal. Protestantism as a religious movement or era may pass away, but the Protestant principle is everlasting."

A second underlying emphasis is the connection between the fate of Protestantism and the universal economic and social changes now taking place. A basic proposition of Tillich is that "the traditional form of the Protestant attitude cannot outlast the period of mass disintegration and mass collectivism—that the end of 'the Protestant Era' is a possibility" (p. 222). We are now seeing the spiritual disintegration of the bourgeois society of which Protestantism is "the religious embellishment." While not a Marxist—Tillich describes himself as a Christian socialist—he is aware that the Marxian analysis of society, especially of economics, is being demonstrated in the present historical situation. The late World War is seen therefore as part of a world revolution. A disintegrated world has been seeking integration. Such integration, says Tillich, is possible "by mass organization within a centralized and collective system. There is no other way out."

Early in the war Tillich said: "The storms of our times are not a bad accident, caused by evil men, without whose interference everything would have remained as before. No evil men can make history unless the soil is prepared on a tremendous scale." That soil was the great sense of insecurity and of fear among the masses

("there is no more terrible fate than the fate of permanent unemployment" which is implicit in "the complete dependence of the masses on the laws of the market"), of loneliness, of a lack of any meaning in their life.

It is in such a historical situation that Protestantism is facing its greatest test today. Tillich holds that Protestantism by its alliance with the evolving middle-class humanism tended in many respects to become merely the religious aspect of capitalism. The acute question is whether it can sufficiently make the readjustment to the changing economic and social situation, in other words, undergo a sufficiently fundamental change, so that it may continue to exist for the masses. Tillich holds that to do so Protestantism must "remold its forms of life, its constitution, its rites, and its individual and social ethics. But the precondition for any readjustment is that the Protestant leaders become aware of the seriousness of their situation." And it is in this sense that Tillich would say with Schleiermacher: "The Reformation must continue"; for we are living at the end of an era."

But we are not to think that Tillich is preoccupied with economics and religious socialism in his appraisal of the Protestant situation. One instance of his deeper theological concern, which finds expression in many other ways, is that of the sacraments. In a chapter on "Nature and Sacrament," he asserts that "Protestantism has become so indifferent to sacramental thinking that even the two remaining sacraments have lost their significance, with the result that only the word has retained a genuinely sacramental character. In the revival of Reformation theology in our day, the word plays an immense role, whereas the sacraments play no role whatsoever. It is fairly evident that the Protestant sacraments are disappearing. . . . The phenomenal growth of secularism in Protestant countries can be explained partly as a result of the weakening of the sacramental power within

Protestantism." Here again then the Reformation must continue.

—Paul Warren.

The Stilwell Papers, by General Joseph W. Stilwell. William Sloane Association, Inc. \$4.00.

Some will say this book should never have been written. But now that it is written, a host of Americans (and some Chinese) will read it. Diplomats ("doplo-mats," according to the mistake or inspiration of a Peking-English language newspaper, p. 256) will be among those embarrassed by its appearance. Its revelations will not strengthen the present American policy to support "the corruption, neglect, chaos . . . hoarding, black market, trading with the enemy" (p. 316) of reactionary rulers as they exploit the common people, in the assurance that these rulers will keep China revolving in the American instead of the Soviet "orbit." Stilwell sets down in the scathing, blunt terms of a soldier the evil situation reported in part by General Marshall on his return from China in January, 1947—that the Chinese Government contained "a dominant group of reactionaries who have been opposed, in my opinion, to almost every effort I have made to influence the formation of a genuine coalition government."

After the humiliating "beating" in Burma, but brilliant retreat of 140 miles through wild jungles, Stilwell wrote, "I think we ought to find out what caused it, go back and retake it." The *Papers* are the record of a courageous, honest soldier's fight to "find out." The victory in Burma (preceded by the victory in Chungking) is vindication of Stilwell and his faith in the Chinese common soldier, perhaps a bitter victory if "we are maneuvered into the position of having to support this rotten regime and glorify its figurehead (Chiang Kai-shek), the all-wise great patriot and soldier—Peanut" (p. 191). "Chiang Kai-shek is the head of a one-party government,

supported by [the terror of] Tai Li's Gestapo and a party secret service. He is now organizing an S.S. of 100,000 members" (Pp. 340, 317.) "The cure for China's trouble is the elimination of Chiang Kai-shek. The only thing that keeps the country split is his fear of losing control." (P. 321.)

Infrequent but penetrating contrasts are made on the Communist's Kuomintang Communist program—reduce taxes, rents, interest. Raise production, and standard of living. Participate in government. Practice what they preach. (P. 316.)

"What will the American people say when they finally learn the truth?" Confronted with such a report, some will ask, Is this "the truth" on China? But no one can doubt but that here is an honest man devoted to the truth. Certainly his testimony of three years in Burma and China, "ignored, insulted, double-crossed, delayed, obstructed," throws a light on China, indispensable to those who would know the truth of this land of sorrow.

The language of the *Papers* is frequently offensive. However, were I the pastor of a church following the mission study on China, *The Stilwell Papers* would be on the required list for adult readers.

—Paul Newton Poling.

The Peace, by Ernst Juenger. Henry Regnery Company. \$2.00.

To read this book is a spiritual experience. The first part of it is a poignant description of what the barbarians from within did to a Germany which they had conquered by force and cunning. The mental and spiritual suffering of those who resisted is summed up in a short line: "And the way to the peaks of suffering had many stations." When one has reread the denunciatory pages he is thoroughly convinced that the desecration was such that it touched the whole human race.

The second part of the book is a positive program to save Western civilization. Better, more detailed outlines have been written. The author plans to set up a

European state. The pattern is to come from the experience of Switzerland, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the British Empire, for "in these structures a mass of political experience has crystallized. To it we can have recourse." The problems to be solved include living space, justice, and the shape of life of the workingman. The one new idea in this section is this: that the true peace must bear fruit in a religious covenant.

In the concluding pages there is a paragraph which, coming from a novelist, must give courage to the Church: "Modern man is determined to believe"; . . . [therefore] "theology must attract the purest intellects—those which find no satisfaction in the discipline of the individual sciences nor even in philosophy, but which are commensurate with the totality of things, with the universe."

—Evelyn Luchs.

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